

2016

Whitefield's Music: Moorfields Tabernacle, The Divine Musical Miscellany (1754), and the Fashioning of Early Evangelical Sacred Song

Stephen A. Marini
smarini@wellesley.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <http://repository.wellesley.edu/scholarship>

Version: Publisher's version

Recommended Citation

Marini, Stephen A. (2016) "Whitefield's Music: Moorfields Tabernacle, The Divine Musical Miscellany (1754), and the Fashioning of Early Evangelical Sacred Song," Yale Journal of Music & Religion: Vol. 2: No. 1, Article 5. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17132/2377-231X.1043>


This Article is brought to you for free and open access by Wellesley College Digital Scholarship and Archive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Faculty Research and Scholarship by an authorized administrator of Wellesley College Digital Scholarship and Archive. For more information, please contact ir@wellesley.edu.

2016

Whitefield's Music: Moorfields Tabernacle, The Divine Musical Miscellany (1754), and the Fashioning of Early Evangelical Sacred Song

Stephen A. Marini
Wellesley College

Follow this and additional works at: <http://elischolar.library.yale.edu/yjmr>

 Part of the [American Popular Culture Commons](#), [Christian Denominations and Sects Commons](#), [Cultural History Commons](#), [European History Commons](#), [History of Christianity Commons](#), [Intellectual History Commons](#), [Literature in English, British Isles Commons](#), [Literature in English, North America Commons](#), [Liturgy and Worship Commons](#), [Musicology Commons](#), [Music Pedagogy Commons](#), and the [Religious Thought, Theology and Philosophy of Religion Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Marini, Stephen A. (2016) "Whitefield's Music: Moorfields Tabernacle, The Divine Musical Miscellany (1754), and the Fashioning of Early Evangelical Sacred Song," *Yale Journal of Music & Religion*: Vol. 2: No. 1, Article 5.
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17132/2377-231X.1043>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by EliScholar – A Digital Platform for Scholarly Publishing at Yale. It has been accepted for inclusion in Yale Journal of Music & Religion by an authorized administrator of EliScholar – A Digital Platform for Scholarly Publishing at Yale. For more information, please contact elischolar@yale.edu.

Whitefield's Music: Moorfields Tabernacle, The Divine Musical Miscellany (1754), and the Fashioning of Early Evangelical Sacred Song

Cover Page Footnote

This essay is an expanded version of a paper read on 26 June 2014 at "George Whitefield at 300," the tercentenary conference at Pembroke College, Oxford, sponsored by the Manchester Wesley Research Centre, Oxford Brookes University, Aberystwyth University, and The Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale University. I am grateful to the conference organizers, David Ceri Jones and Geordan Hammond, for their invitation to join the conference program.

Whitefield's Music:

Moorfields Tabernacle, *The Divine Musical Miscellany* (1754), and the Fashioning of Evangelical Sacred Song

Stephen A. Marini

Interpreters of George Whitefield's career have rightly focused on the great Anglo-American evangelist's spectacular preaching, theological controversies, and charitable activities. His roles in sparking the Great Awakening in America and the Evangelical Revival in Britain during the 1730s and 1740s, founding and dividing Methodism with his Evangelical Calvinist theology, and promoting his vision for educating poor children at his Bethesda Orphan House in Savannah, Georgia, brought him fame during his lifetime and lasting influence afterward. Less well known, however, are his engagements with hymnody and sacred music, though they were intimately related to these more familiar aspects of his ministry. As he developed his trademark practice of revival field preaching in the late 1730s, for example, Whitefield (1714–70) quickly learned that the best way to draw a crowd was to sing a psalm or hymn in a public place. The sheer novelty of that act was enough to capture the initial attention of people he hoped to reach with his message of spiritual transformation. Later in his career, sacred song became an important dimension of worship at Moorfields Tabernacle, his permanent preaching station in London from 1741 on, at his chapels and those of his patroness Selina Hastings, countess of Huntingdon, and at his beloved Bethesda.

These Whitefieldian institutions were important sites of ritual experimentation. Worship at Moorfields was especially significant, occasioning Whitefield's *Collection of Hymns for Social Worship* (1753), one of his most popular publications.¹ The textual, theological, and devotional qualities of this worded hymnal are of central importance to understanding his religious movement, but adding music to the story both amplifies and complicates the significance of Whitefieldian hymnody. Since hymns are a compound ritual form of words and music, it is impossible fully to understand the lyrics of *Hymns for Social Worship* without also encountering the tunes to which they were sung. This musical dimension, however, has remained almost entirely unexplored.²

This essay is a much-expanded version of a paper originally delivered at *George Whitefield at 300: An International Tercentenary Conference at Pembroke College, Oxford*, June 25–27, 2014, sponsored by Aberystwyth University, the Manchester Wesley Research Centre, the Oxford Centre for Methodism and Church History, and the Jonathan Edwards Center at Yale University. I am grateful to the conference organizers, David Ceri Jones and Geordan Hammond, for their invitation to join the program, which brought together a landmark assemblage of interdisciplinary research on Whitefield.

¹ George Whitefield, *A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship, more particularly design'd for the Use of the Tabernacle Congregation, in London* (London: Strahan, 1753).

² See Maurice Frost, "Harmonia-Sacra, By Thomas Butts—I," *The Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland Bulletin* 61 (Autumn 1952): 66–71.

This essay addresses the problem of Whitefield's music by focusing on a little-known tune book called *The Divine Musical Miscellany* (1754), the first published collection of music to set texts from *Hymns for Social Worship*. The *Miscellany* appears to reproduce music sung at Moorfields Tabernacle and thereby reveal important clues about worship practice there. The tune book is also significant because it appeared at a crucial early moment in the emergence of Evangelical hymnody. Its publication constituted the first division of Methodist music into separate Whitefieldian and Wesleyan strands. Its reception history during Whitefield's lifetime and the next half-century also illustrates the complex process of musical and textual transmission by which Anglo-American Evangelical hymnody was first fashioned. Before engaging with *The Divine Musical Miscellany* and its legacy, however, it is necessary to consider the background of Moorfields Tabernacle and the community whose music it represented.

Moorfields Tabernacle

Up to the mid-seventeenth century, Moorfields was part of open country beyond Moorgate on the northern edge of London's city walls. The area was first occupied by refugees from the Great London Fire of 1666 who built a ramshackle neighborhood there around a group of four walled fields. In 1676 the Bethlehem Hospital, better known as Bedlam, relocated just outside Moorgate. Its new building, designed by the natural philosopher Robert Hooke, stood at the southern boundary of Moorfields, which remained open space as the city gradually grew around them (Figs. 1 and 2). Whitefield was told that the fields were "given [to the city] by one Madam Moore, on purpose for all sorts of people to divert themselves in."³ By the mid-eighteenth century, Moorfields had become a popular but seedy promenade filled with open-air markets, auctions, shows, beggars, and buskers.⁴



Figure 1. Engraving by Robert White of the new Bethlehem Hospital designed by Robert Hooke and built at Moorfields in 1676. Source: Wikipedia Commons, Wellcome L0018181

³ John Gillies, *Memoirs of the Life of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A., Late Chaplain to the Right Honourable The Countess of Huntingdon* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1772), 35–36. See also George Whitefield, *Letters of George Whitefield, for the Period 1734–1742* (Edinburgh and Carlisle, Penn.: Banner of Truth Trust, 1976), 49.

⁴ Whitefield, *Letters*, 384.

According to John Gillies, Whitefield's first biographer, the evangelist began preaching at Moorfields on Sunday, April 29, 1739.⁵ Flush from his first visit to America and rejected for appointment to an Anglican parish in England, the 25-year-old Whitefield plunged into the "mad trick" of field preaching at one of London's most notorious and dangerous locations. He described Moorfields as "a large spacious place" in which "for many years past, from one end to the other, booths of all kinds have been erected, for mountebanks, players, puppet shows, and such like." Gillies reported that

public notice having been given, and [field preaching] being new and singular, upon coming out of his coach, [Whitefield] found an incredible number of people assembled. Many had told him, that he should never come again out of that place alive. He went in, however, between two of his friends; who, by the pressure of the crowd, were soon parted entirely from him, and were obliged to leave him to the mercy of the rabble. But these, instead of hurting him, formed a lane for him, and carried him along to the middle of the Fields, where a table had been placed, (which was broken in pieces by the crowd), and afterward back again to the wall that then parted the upper and lower Moorfields.⁶

For the next several months, Whitefield conducted open-air preaching at Moorfields and other London locations. Singing was already a characteristic part of Whitefield's public ministry, and Gillies says that "at a moderate computation, the auditories [at Moorfields] often consisted of above twenty thousand. It is said their singing could be heard two miles off, and his voice near a mile."⁷

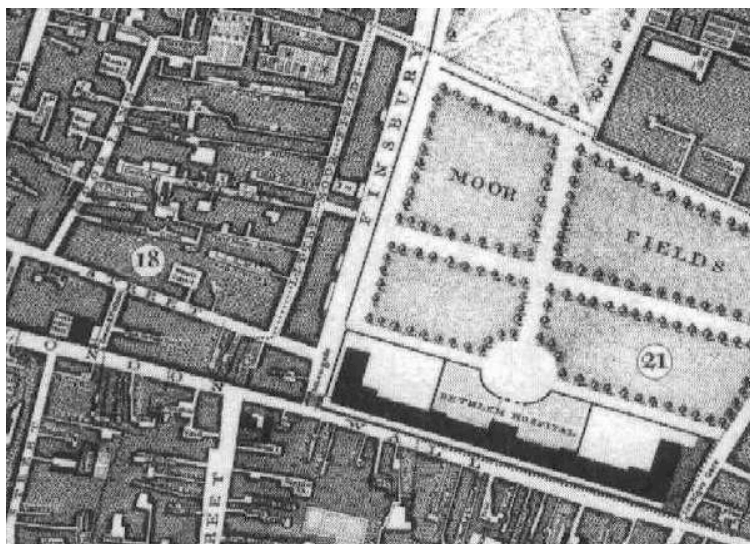


Figure 2. Detail from John Rocque, *A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1746), showing London Wall, Bethlehem Hospital, and Moorfields.

Whitefield returned to Moorfields in the spring of 1741 after his second American tour, only to encounter negative effects of his advocacy of Calvinism against John Wesley's Arminian perfectionism and the division of Methodism it had begun to cause. On Good Friday he reported

⁵ Gillies, *Memoirs*, 35–36.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 36.

that “for some time preaching under one of the trees, [I] had the mortification of seeing numbers of my spiritual children, who but a twelvemonth ago could have plucked out their eyes for me, running by me whilst preaching, distaining so much as to look at me, and some of them putting their fingers in their ears, that they might not hear one word I said.”⁸ Undaunted, Whitefield increased the frequency of his Moorfields preaching to win back the crowds. Sometime during this campaign, “some Free-grace Dissenters (who stood closely by him on that time of trial), got the loan of a piece of ground, and engaged with a carpenter to build a large temporary shed, to screen the auditory from cold and rain.” Ironically, the site of the shed was “very near the Foundery” where John Wesley had established his own London headquarters in November 1739. Whitefield “disliked” this location “because he thought it looked like erecting altar against altar,” but he was grateful for the support of his new Dissenting allies.⁹

This temporary wooden structure was the beginning of Moorfields Tabernacle. “I have called it a Tabernacle,” Whitefield wrote to James Halbersham, “because, perhaps, we may be called to move our tents.”¹⁰ This remark reflected his apprehension at this time that he and his followers might be driven off or arrested by Crown authorities for unlawful dissent. By June 3, 1741, however, he had been assured that no prosecution was contemplated and a revival was under way at Moorfields. Whitefield decided to make the Tabernacle permanent. “I have enjoyed the especial presence of God ever since I came to London,” he wrote to John Cennick. “I preach three times daily. The Lord is remarkably with me. Congregations increase. I am going to have a society-room joined to the tabernacle. The Lord is really on our side.”¹¹

For the next year Whitefield was constantly on the move as the Evangelical Revival in Britain approached its zenith. Back in London for Easter 1742, he began to organize a religious society—a permanent nonecclesiastical fellowship—at the Tabernacle. As the Moorfields revival continued, a practice developed in which those who fell under conviction during Whitefield’s preaching handed him written notes called “tickets,” which he shared with his circle of converts and lay evangelists at the Tabernacle in the evening. They in turn ministered to the inquirers who were invited to join the community if they experienced the New Birth. Whitefield first recorded this practice on April 22, 1742, in a letter to Captain Gladman of Philadelphia:

I have been preaching in Moorfields, and our Saviour carries all before us. Nought can resist his conquering blood. It would have delighted you, to have seen the poor sinners flock from the booths, to see Jesus lifted up on the pole of the gospel. I have received many tickets from young apprentices, &c. &c. Our society goes on wonderfully well. Every day we hear of fresh conquests.¹²

Up to this point the society at the Tabernacle had been an informal company of converts. Three weeks later, however, on Whit-Monday, May 10, 1742, the holiday following the Feast of Pentecost, a dramatic episode at Moorfields brought Whitefield’s followers into permanent organization. In a letter written the next day, the evangelist offered a detailed account of the episode that conveys the raucous and deeply conflicted environment in which the Tabernacle

⁸ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁰ Whitefield, *Letters*, 344.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 267.

¹² *Ibid.*, 383.

society emerged. When he began preaching “at six o’clock in the morning, attended by a large congregation of praying people,” there were already ten thousand people on the grounds “waiting, not for me, but for satan’s instruments to amuse them.” At first all went well.

I mounted my field pulpit, almost all flocked immediately around it. I preached on these words, “As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so shall the son of man be lifted up, &c.” They gazed, they listened, they wept; and I believe that many felt themselves stung with deep conviction for their past sins. All was hushed and solemn.¹³

Encouraged by this success, Whitefield “ventured out” to preach again at noon, only to find that “the whole field seemed, in a bad sense of the word, all white, ready not for the Redeemer’s, but Beelzebub’s harvest. All his agents were in full motion, drummers, trumpeters, merry andrews [clowns], masters of puppet shows, exhibitors of wild beasts, players, &c. &c. all busy in entertaining their respective auditories. I suppose there could not be less than twenty or thirty thousand people.”¹⁴ He set up his field pulpit, a portable wooden stand about four feet high, opposite the rows of booths and began to speak. “Judging that like saint Paul, I should now be called as it were to fight with beasts at Ephesus, I preached from these words, ‘Great is Diana of the Ephesians.’ You may easily guess, that there was some noise among the [boothmen], and that I was honoured with having a few stones, dirt, rotten eggs, and pieces of dead cats thrown at me whilst engaging in calling them from their favourite but lying vanities.” Once again, however, “far the greatest part of my congregation, which was very large, seemed for a while to be turned into lambs.”

Whitefield made a third foray into Moorfields at six o’clock in the evening, encountering still more thousands filling the place, many of them flocking to his field pulpit and away from the pleasure booths. One “merry andrew” tried to drive Whitefield off by sitting on the shoulders of another man and attempting to “slash” the evangelist “with a long heavy whip several times.” Then his opponents sent

a recruiting serjeant with his drum, &c. to pass through the congregation in an attempt to break it up. These efforts failed, but then a large body quite on the opposite side assembled again, and having got a large pole for their standard, advanced towards us with steady and formidable steps, till they came very near the skirts of our hearing, praying, and almost undaunted congregation. I saw, gave warning, and prayed to the captain of our salvation for present support and deliverance. He heard and answered; for just as they approached us with looks full of resentment, I know not by what accident, they quarrelled among themselves, threw down their staff and went away.¹⁵

Whitefield “continued in praying, preaching and singing, (for the noise was too great at times to preach) about three hours,” during which many of the erstwhile opponents “were brought over to join the [once] besieged party.” Whitefield wrote about this confrontation as if it were a military campaign in which he had deployed singing as a tactical weapon to overcome the shouts and jeers directed at him. Whitefield and his followers returned to the Tabernacle. “With my pockets full of notes from persons brought under concern,” he reported, “I read them amidst the praises

¹³ Ibid., 384–85.

¹⁴ Ibid., 385.

¹⁵ Ibid.

and spiritual acclamations of thousands, who joined with the holy angels in rejoicing that so many sinners were snatched, in such an unexpected, unlikely place and manner, out of the very jaws of the devil. This was the beginning of the tabernacle society.—Three hundred and fifty awakened souls were received in one day, and I believe the number of notes exceeded a thousand.”¹⁶

With so many converts flooding the Tabernacle, it was necessary to organize them by explicit rules of prayer, moral behavior, and attendance at worship. No details survive about these arrangements, but “the society-room” Whitefield had built the previous summer now became the permanent home of a new gathered community with the ongoing financial and legal support of London Dissenters. Whitefield’s letters continued to enthuse about the Moorfields revival and society through the end of 1742, when he left for his climactic tour of America and the final phase of the Great Awakening that culminated in his public repudiation by the faculties of Harvard and Yale.¹⁷

A glimpse of the beliefs and worship practices at the early Tabernacle is provided by *A Confession of Faith, sung by all the Brethren and Sisters at the general Love-Feast, November 4th, 1744. In the Tabernacle, London*. This hymn text of nine verses in 8.8.8.8.8. meter confirms that early Whitefieldians practiced the love-feast, a “Christian fellowship meal which heightened the concept of love among believers” borrowed by Methodists from Moravian liturgical precedent. John Wesley described the love-feast as a gathering “in order to increase . . . a grateful sense of all [God’s] mercies, . . . that we might together ‘eat bread’ as the ancient Christians did, ‘with gladness and singleness of heart.’”¹⁸ On July 20, 1740, Wesley had chosen the occasion of a love-feast at the Fetter Lane meeting in London to break from the Moravians and organize the first Methodist religious society at the Foundery. Thereafter the quarterly observance of this agape meal became a standard feature of early Methodist worship, especially among the small-group “bands.” Its simple liturgy included prayer, hymn singing, the sharing of food and drink, testimony by members, and the reading of the society’s covenant. Wesley reported that “our food is only a little plain cake and water [at love-feasts]. But we seldom return from them without being fed, not only with the ‘meat which perisheth,’ but with ‘that which endureth to eternal life.’”¹⁹

Singing was a prominent feature of Wesleyan love-feasts from the very beginning. Charles Wesley’s poem “Love Feast,” first published in the 1740 edition of *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, immediately became the standard hymn to begin the ritual meal. Its first verse eloquently summarized the meaning and purpose of the Methodist love-feast.

¹⁶ Ibid., 386.

¹⁷ See Harvard College, *The Testimony of the President, Professors, Tutors and Hebrew instructor of Harvard College in Cambridge, against the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, and his conduct* (Boston: T. Fleet, 1744) and Yale College, *The Declaration of the Rector and Tutors of Yale-College in New-Haven, against the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, his Principles and Designs: In a Letter to him* (Boston: T. Fleet, 1745).

¹⁸ See Frank Baker, *Methodism and the Love-Feast* (London: Epworth, 1957), 9–15.

¹⁹ William Parkes, “Watchnight, Covenant Service, and the Love-Feast in Early British Methodism,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 32/2 (Fall 1997): 37–41.

Come and let us sweetly join
 Christ to praise in hymns divine;
 Give we all, with one accord,
 Glory to our common Lord.
 Hands and hearts and voices raise;
 Sing as in the ancient days;
 Antedate the joys above;
 Celebrate the feast of love.²⁰

That Whitefield endorsed the love-feast for Moorfields Tabernacle is obvious from the 1744 *Confession*, but it also added the important detail that men and women met and sang together in this service. During the early 1740s, Wesley had experimented with single-gender love-feasts, but their great popularity and communal purpose gave way to plenary celebrations that Whitefield had also endorsed by 1744. The *Confession* indicates that this particular love-feast also included a covenant signing, possibly marking the moment when the Moorfields Tabernacle community first adopted a formal statement of its faith and practice. The text reveals the Tabernacle society as a militantly separatist Evangelical community that brooked no compromise.

1 The Doctrine of our dying Lord,
 The Faith he on Mount Calv'ry seal'd,
 We sign; and every stedfast Word
 Within his Testament reveal'd,
 We firm believe; and curse we they
 Who add thereto, or take away.

2 And now, before this awful Crowd
 Of Brethren Militant on Earth!
 Before the First-born Church with God!
 We hearty own the Second-Birth:
 We constantly consent to this,
 Who hath not Christ, is none of his.²¹

For the next decade Whitefield preached and led worship at the Tabernacle whenever he was in London, but his constant traveling and the continuing growth of the congregation led him to enlist lay preachers including John Cennick, Howell Harris, and Robert Seagrave to preside in his absence.²² According to Gillies, Whitefield “began to think of erecting a new Tabernacle” at the end of 1752. Plans were drawn up for the building and the foundation was laid on March 1, 1753, at which occasion Whitefield preached from Exodus 20:24: “an altar . . . thou shalt make unto me, and . . . in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.” He personally supervised the construction and dedicated the new Tabernacle in June. The

²⁰ Parkes, “Watchnight,” 41–42.

²¹ *A Confession of Faith, Sung by all the Brethren and Sisters At the General Love-Feast, November 4th, 1744. In the Tabernacle, London* (London: s.n., 1744).

²² Gillies, *Memoirs*, 61.

peripatetic Whitefield preached in it only a few days “with his usual fervor and success, and to large congregations” before setting off on a tour of Scotland.²³

The new building was designed as a preaching house, not as an ecclesiastical structure. It was square, 80 feet on a side and two stories high (Fig. 3). Seven Roman arched windows pierced the upper story of the main elevation and three of them flanked the entry below. This primary entrance featured a central portal with porch and doors to each side. The Tabernacle’s steep slate lantern roof was surmounted by a squat square tower. The building offered no external ornaments except corner pilasters, two more pilasters to each side of the central portal, and a rudimentary cornice and balustrade. The closest architectural parallels to the new Tabernacle’s square shape were seventeenth-century Puritan and Quaker meetinghouses, designed for maximal acoustical amplification so that every sermon and testimony could be heard. It seems certain that the Tabernacle was built purposely as a preaching space to provide those ritual and sonic characteristics for Whitefield’s ministry at Moorfields.



Figure 3. *View of Mr. Whitefield's Tabernacle near Moorfields.* Print by T. Thornton after a drawing by William Hamilton, ca. 1780. Source: British Museum Collection Online.

The only descriptions of the new Tabernacle’s interior occur incidentally in memoirs written by Whitefield’s followers and lay preachers. For example, the *Records of the Life of the Rev. John Murray*—a Whitefield convert who left Evangelical Calvinism to join the Universalist movement and eventually bring it to New England—noted that the Tabernacle had a gallery and no seats.

²³ Gillies, *Memoirs*, 166–67.

Murray also gave a vivid picture of the importance of hymnody to the spiritual fellowship at Moorfields. Once as he departed the building after a service while undergoing a spiritual crisis, Murray encountered a companion who

took my hand assuring me, he was glad to see me, and repeating a verse of a hymn, “We shall not always make our moan,” etc, which hymn I had often sang, and of which I was very fond. I melted into tears; this man appeared to me as an angel of God, and most devoutly did I bless the Father of my spirit, for sending me such a comforting.

Sunday communion services at the Tabernacle were especially powerful for Murray. “Great numbers attended,” he reported, “who were not regular tabernacle worshippers; obtaining a ticket of admittance, they took their seats. It appeared to me like a prelibation of heaven. The Elect of God, from every denomination, assembled round the table of the Lord; a word of consolation was always given, and an evangelical hymn most delightfully sung.”²⁴

By 1753 the Tabernacle had developed into a unique community that was neither Anglican nor Methodist nor Dissenting, unfettered liturgically by either the *Book of Common Prayer*, Wesley’s conference *Minutes*, or the *Westminster Directory for Worship*. With its new meetinghouse and its community conceived by Whitefield as a religious society without ecclesiastical affiliation, he was free to prescribe the Tabernacle’s ritual practice as he saw fit. Wesley had done the same for his religious societies, and in both cases hymnody proved to be central to the creation of their communal identities.

Whitefield as Hymnist

Hymns for Social Worship was not the first hymn collection Whitefield produced. In 1739 he had published *Divine Melody: or, A Help to Devotion. Being, A Choice Collection of Hymns, Psalms, and Spiritual Songs for the Use of the Pious and Sincere Christian. Selected, Approved and Recommended by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield* (Fig. 4). This little-known work appeared at the same time as John and Charles Wesley’s three volumes of *Hymns and Sacred Poems* and must be considered an effort by Whitefield to compete with it and the brothers’ first hymnal, *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, published in 1737 at Charles Town, South Carolina, while they were on their mission to Georgia.²⁵ According to the most recent editors of *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, the 1739 Wesleyan collection “was intended less for formal Anglican worship and more for devotional use.”²⁶ In its preface the Wesleys attacked medieval Christian hymns by “mystical writers” for their advocacy of justification by works and their practice of “solitary religion.” They argued instead for salvation by faith alone in the merits of Christ’s atoning sacrifice and insisted that “the gospel of Christ knows no religion but social; no holiness but social holiness.” *Hymns and Sacred Poems* was their early effort to give these theological and ecclesiological imperatives a hymnodic voice.²⁷

²⁴ John and Judith Sargent Murray, *Records of the Life of the Rev. John Murray* (Boston: Munroe and Francis, 1816), 94, 97, 98, 101.

²⁵ John Wesley, *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (Charles Town, S.C.: Lewis Timothy, 1737).

²⁶ Randy L. Maddox and Aileen F. Maddox, eds., “Hymns and Sacred Poems (1739) [Baker List, #13],” John Wesley’s Poetry Hymn Collections, Duke University Center for Studies in the Wesleyan Tradition, <http://www.divinity.duke.edu/initiatives-centers/cswt/wesley-texts> (accessed November 2015).

²⁷ John Wesley and Charles Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (London: William Strahan, 1739), iv–viii.



GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

Figure 4. Portrait of George Whitefield from *Divine Melody* (1739)

Whitefield invoked these same devotional and communal qualities in *Divine Melody*. “So encumber’d are we with the cares of this life,” he wrote in the Preface, that

a Christian, how willing soever he may be to devote himself to the exercise of Piety, finds it very difficult to preserve his mind serene and undisturbed in his most solemn approaches to God. . . . For this reason he calls to his assistance all the helps he can meet with; and he is pleased when by such helps, his ideas and sentiments of the Supreme being are elevated . . . [and] celebrated in strains expressive of his own sense of those wonderful dealings of God with Man.²⁸

Whitefield also introduced what would become his characteristic emphasis on the holy affections and heavenly prospect that psalmody produced in the mind and will of the believer. He began the Preface to *Divine Melody* with an impassioned declaration of these attributes. “Psalmody is one of the most exalted parts of Divine worship,” he wrote. “It raises our devotion; it warms our zeal; it spiritualizes our affections; it elevates our soul into a kind of holy rapture; and gives us a foretaste of that ecstatic bliss, which, we hope, shall employ all our powers and faculties in the endless ages of Eternity.”²⁹

The contrast between Whitefield’s collection and the Wesleys’ *Hymns and Sacred Poems* is instructive. Both anthologies were structured around clusters of poems from *The Temple* (1633) by George Herbert, a classic of Anglican devotional poetry that deeply influenced the piety of the Wesleys, Whitefield, and other members of Oxford’s “Holy Club” in the 1730s. The Wesleys included 41 of Herbert’s poems in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, nearly a third of their collection,

²⁸ George Whitefield, *Divine Melody: Being, A Choice Collection of Hymns, Psalms, and Spiritual Songs for the Use of the Pious and Sincere Christian. Selected, Approved and Recommended by the Rev. Mr. Whitefield* (London: W. Rayner, 1739), 5–6.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

and Whitefield only a few less that he arranged in much the same order. The Wesleys filled in the gaps between clusters of Herbert with 55 other poems from Moravian, German Pietist, and other continental sources along with metrical psalms by their father, Samuel Wesley, Sr., and new hymns by Charles Wesley. Whitefield, by contrast, added nearly triple that number of other hymns but used virtually none of the Wesleys' supplementary texts. Instead he supplied generous blocks of hymns and psalm imitations by the Evangelical Calvinist poet Isaac Watts (1674–1748). This doctrinal differential in their early devotional poetry collections prefigured the Calvinist–Arminian break between Whitefield and the Wesleys that would shortly ensue. There were of course other expressions of growing doctrinal tensions between them during these years, but the contrast between *Divine Melody* and *Hymns and Sacred Poems* gave them public expression at the moment that John Wesley precipitated open controversy with Whitefield in his 1739 sermon *Free Grace*.³⁰

After *Divine Melody*, Whitefield fell silent as a hymnist for nearly 15 years, while the Wesleys produced a remarkable outpouring of Evangelical poetry including 18 original and revised works during that period. With the construction of a new Tabernacle at Moorfields in 1753, however, Whitefield returned to hymnody as the compiler of *A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship*. Several preliminary points about Whitefield's new hymn collection should be underlined as they pertain to its musical appropriation. The first is that, as Whitefield indicated in his subtitle, his hymnal was “more particularly design'd for the Use of the Tabernacle Congregation, in London.” In the Preface he wrote that the hymns were “intended purely for Social Worship,” by which he meant worship by religious societies like the one gathered at Moorfields rather than in Anglican parishes or Dissenting congregations.³¹ These were hymns for para-ecclesiastical fellowships of believers, not formally organized church institutions. Wesley had made the same disclaimer. In both cases these collections were designed to preclude the charge of unlicensed dissent by Methodists. Second, it is important to note the continuing popularity of *Hymns for Social Worship*. It ran to at least 15 editions during Whitefield's lifetime, including a Philadelphia reprinting in 1768, to 32 printings by 1788, and remained in print into the nineteenth century.³² This publication record makes *Hymns for Social Worship* Whitefield's most widely circulated literary work by far, and arguably the one of most lasting impact as well. Since he is not usually regarded as a hymnist, this status of the collection among his publications needs to be emphasized.

The text of *Hymns for Social Worship* offers several clues to the nature and practice of Whitefieldian worship. Whitefield said that he freely adapted the hymns in his anthology for the use of religious societies so that “all may safely concur in using them.” This remark referred to his editorial approach that winnowed out controversial theological or sectarian references and consistently employed a first-person-plural rhetoric that could include all in his denominationally

³⁰ John Wesley, *Free Grace. A Sermon preach'd at Bristol, by John Wesley, M.A. Fellow of Lincoln-College, Oxford* (Bristol: S. and F. Farley, 1739).

³¹ Whitefield, *Hymns*, A2 recto.

³² George Whitefield, *A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship, more particularly design'd for the use of the Tabernacle congregation, In London*, 13th ed. (repr. Philadelphia: David Hall, 1768; 32nd ed., London: s.n., 1788; and s.l.: Williams, 1814).

diverse congregations. He also delivered a very strong opinion about the length of hymn-singing. His hymns “are short,” he wrote, “because I think three or four Stanzas, with a Doxology, are sufficient to be sung at one Time. I am no great Friend to long Sermons, long Prayers, or long Hymns. They generally weary instead of edifying, and therefore I think should be avoided by those who preside in any public worshipping Assembly.”³³ Whitefield divided *Hymns for Social Worship* into two sections, the first consisting of 132 hymns with eight Doxologies and three dismissal lyrics, and the second containing 38 “Hymns for Society and Persons meeting in Christian-Fellowship.” Whitefield maintained this division of the *Hymns* through its early editions, then added a supplement of 26 hymns for the sixth edition in 1757.³⁴ By the sixteenth edition (1770), the last one published during his life, the supplement had grown to 44 hymns and the total number of lyrics to 232.³⁵ Whitefield followed Watts and Wesley by titling each of his hymn texts, but unlike Wesley he did not organize them into a comprehensive thematic scheme. The most striking literary element of *Hymns for Social Worship* was the preponderance of “particular meter” hymns that did not follow the standard psalm measures of Common (8.6.8.6.), Short (6.6.8.6.), and Long Meter (8.8.8.8.). Both Whitefieldian writers and Charles Wesley used new metrical forms to give a distinctive voice to their Evangelical message. The most unusual liturgical form in *Hymns*, however, was its six “dialogue hymns,” a genre of antiphonal praise in which the congregation was divided either spatially or by gender. All of these textual and ritual features of Whitefield’s *Hymns* found musical expression in a London tune book published a few months later called *The Divine Musical Miscellany*.

The Divine Musical Miscellany

The Divine Musical Miscellany, being, A Collection of Psalm, and Hymn Tunes: great part of which were never before in Print (DMM) was a substantial anonymous tune book featuring a thorough introduction to musical theory and performance, as well as 68 psalm and hymn tunes arranged in two parts for melody and bass with first-stanza text underlay and thorough-bass notation for keyboard accompaniment. The tunes follow no obvious order, none of them are attributed by the compiler, and the composers of most of them remain unknown.³⁶

The *Miscellany* appeared at a crucial moment in the development of Evangelical hymnody. London Dissenters were just encountering a new 25-tune supplement to the psalms and hymns of Isaac Watts called *Tunes in the Tenor Part fitted to the several metres* (1753). First published at Berwick-upon-Tweed and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, this supplement replaced one by the same title

³³ Whitefield, *Hymns*, A2 recto and verso.

³⁴ George Whitefield, *A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship, more particularly design’d for the Use of the Tabernacle Congregation, in London. The sixth edition.* (London: William Strahan, 1757), 145–[80].

³⁵ George Whitefield, *A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship, more particularly designed for the use of the Tabernacle and chapel congregations in London. The sixteenth edition.* (London: Henry Cock, [1770]), 145–94.

³⁶ *The Divine Musical Miscellany. being, A Collection of Psalm, and Hymn Tunes: great part of which were never before in Print* (London: Wm. Smith, 1754), #DMM 1754; hereafter DMM. Coded references here and following are to the *Hymn Tune Index* resource codes.

that had been in common Dissenting use since it first appeared in 1725.³⁷ Among the Methodists, John Wesley's first tune book, *A Collection of Tunes, set to music, as they are commonly sung at the Foundery* (1742), was 14 years old. The Methodist movement had long since outgrown the *Foundery Collection*'s repertory of 43 traditional Anglican and German Pietist tunes and its local societies were producing hundreds of their own still-unpublished sacred songs. Meanwhile Thomas Hutton, a London Moravian leader, had compiled *The Tunes for the Hymns in the Collection with several translations from the Moravian Hymn-Book* around 1744, at the apex of Moravian influence on Methodism. Then in 1746 Charles Wesley and the London composer John Friedrich Lampe collaborated on *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and Other Occasions*, in which Lampe's 24 tunes introduced operatic musical style into Methodist worship.³⁸ But most Evangelicals, especially in London, had not encountered a collection of tunes that reflected more recent musical developments at Moorfields and the Foundery. *The Divine Musical Miscellany* was the first printed tune book to provide that new repertory, preceding by just a few months Thomas Butts's much larger new Wesleyan collection *Harmonia-Sacra, or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes*.³⁹

The precise chronology of *DMM* and *Harmonia* is still unsettled, owing to the absence of a date certain on the latter imprint. In 1952 Maurice Frost reported that the *Miscellany*, dated 1754, was "one of the few [tune] books of this type and period which deigns to print a date on the title page!" (Fig. 5). He lamented that *Harmonia*, while apparently printed in the same year, could not be more precisely placed in time and concluded that absent further evidence, "*Harmonia-Sacra* came after the *Divine Musical Miscellany*."⁴⁰ The *Hymn Tune Index* accepts this dating, noting a reference to an advertisement for *DMM* in the May 1754 issue of the *Scots Magazine* that states it was compiled "for use with George Whitefield's *Hymns for Social Worship*."⁴¹ Moreover, Butts added a third treble part to *DMM*'s tunes, suggesting that he adapted them from an earlier version.

³⁷ *Tunes in the Tenor Part fitted to the several metres* (Berwick-upon-Tweed: Robert Taylor, 1753; Newcastle-upon-Tyne, William Charnley, 1753), *TS WatB a 1753; *Tunes in the Tenor Part fitted to the several metres* (London: John Clark, Richard Hett, and Richard Ford, 1725), *TS WatA a 1725.

³⁸ [John Wesley], *A Collection of Tunes, set to music, as they are commonly sung at the Foundery* (London: A. Pearson, 1742), #CTSF1742; [John Friedrich Lampe], *Hymns on the Great Festivals, and Other Occasions* (London: M. Cooper, 1746), #HGFOO 1 1746; [Thomas Hutton], *The Tunes for the Hymns in the Collection with several translations from the Moravian Hymn-Book* (London: James Hutton, [ca. 1744]), #TH 1744.

³⁹ Thomas Butts, *Harmonia-Sacra, or A Choice Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* (London: Thomas Butts, [1754]), ButtTHS a 1754.

⁴⁰ Frost, "Harmonia-Sacra—I," 69, and "Harmonia-Sacra, By Thomas Butts—II," *The Hymn Society of Great Britain and Ireland Bulletin* 62 (Winter 1952–53): 77.

⁴¹ Source note for #DMM 1754 e, *The Hymn Tune Index: All Hymns Printed Anywhere in the World with English-language Texts up to 1820, and Their Publication History up to That Date* <<http://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu/>>. Until very recently scholars of psalmody like Maurice Frost, Richard Crawford, and Nicholas Temperley had to rely on painstaking personal examination of tune books to perform such an analysis of reception history. In 2001, however, Temperley and his colleagues Charles Manns and Joseph Herl transformed this research field with the release of *The Hymn Tune Index (HTI)*, an interactive online database of "all hymns printed anywhere in the world with English-language texts up to 1820, and their publication history up to that date." Revised in 2006 and incrementally expanded since then, *HTI* has become the indispensable reference tool for eighteenth-century psalmody with capacity for searching tunes, texts, sources, and composers in multiple modalities. It immeasurably assists the investigation of what happened to the Whitefieldian repertory of texts and tunes after it was first published in *DMM*.

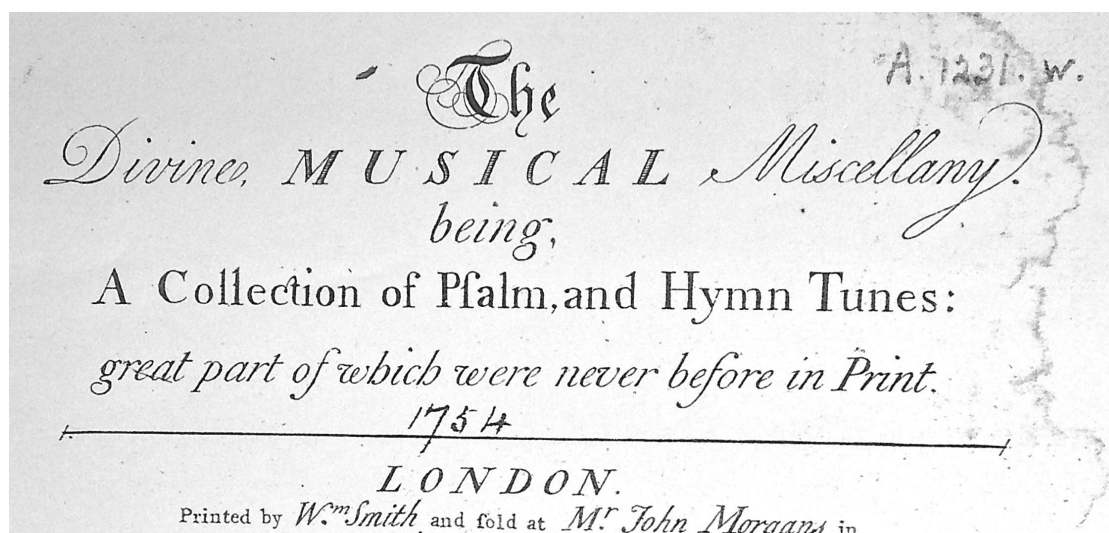


Figure 5. *The Divine Musical Miscellany*, title page. Courtesy of The British Library.

The matter of precedence is important because *DMM* shares a great deal of repertory with *Harmonia*, no fewer than 51 tunes amounting to 75 percent of *DMM*'s total repertory. If *DMM* is the earlier collection, it may be regarded as the source of Whitefieldian music that Butts incorporated into *Harmonia* and thence into Wesleyan Methodism. The reality, however, was more complex. Frost commented that "we cannot be sure that tunes common to this book and *Harmonia-Sacra* may not have been part of a common stock which the editors adopted independently."⁴² The case for a shared repertory becomes even stronger in light of the physical proximity of the Tabernacle and the Foundry. The two congregations could hardly have avoided exchanges of texts and tunes. More to the point, Whitefield and Moorfields occupied the theological middle ground among London Evangelicals between the Anglican Arminianism of Wesley and the Foundry and the Evangelical Calvinism of London's Dissenting Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist churches. The music of Moorfields, and of *DMM*, pointed in both directions and was shared by both of its rival Evangelical factions. *DMM* is indexed in two ways. It has a standard alphabetical tune index at the beginning of the tune book and abbreviated text references at the top of each hymn score, such as "Hymn 50. G.W." and "Hymn 150. B I. I.W." A note in the tune index decodes the abbreviations: "Dr. W. stands for Dr Watts G.W. George Whitefield I.W. John Westley [sic] I.C. John Cennick."⁴³ According to this scheme, the texts of *DMM* included 35 lyrics from Watts's *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707/1709) and *The Psalms of David Imitated* (1719), 19 from Whitefield's *Hymns for Social Worship*, five from Cennick's *Sacred Hymns for Religious Societies* (1743), and two from John and Charles Wesley's *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1739).⁴⁴ These sources indicate that the tune book was designed not only for

⁴² Frost, "Harmonia-Sacra—I," 69.

⁴³ *DMM*, 31, 41, and 1.

⁴⁴ Isaac Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs in Three Books* (London: J. Humfreys, 1707; 2nd ed., corr. and enl. (London: J. Humfreys, 1709) and *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament* (London: J. Clark, R. Ford, and R. Cruttenden, 1719); Whitefield, *Hymns for Social Worship*; John Cennick, *Sacred Hymns For*

Moorfields Tabernacle, but also for Dissenters, English Moravians, and Wesleyan Methodists. The compiler clearly had these larger constituencies in mind, and conceived *DMM* as what might legitimately be considered the first interdenominational Evangelical tune book. Whitefield himself was an Evangelical ecumenist, seeking in his ministry not a new sectarian organization but a fellowship of born-again believers from every denomination. In its combination of Evangelical texts, *DMM*'s overall conception was Whitefieldian, even though not much more than one-quarter of its texts came directly from *Hymns for Social Worship*. Put another way, not all who purchased and used *DMM* worshipped at Moorfields, but they were all Whitefieldians in the fluid multidenominational sense of the term during the mid-1750s.

The preponderant textual element in *DMM* was the sacred poetry from Isaac Watts's *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* and *The Psalms of David Imitated*, which made up nearly 40 percent of its lyrical content. The Dissenting poet's lyrics were the common coin of Methodist and Dissenting sacred song in the mid-1750s. Whitefield included dozens of Watts's lyrics in *Hymns for Social Worship*, as did John and Charles Wesley in their early collections of sacred poetry. Given that Dissenters had financed the Moorfields Tabernacle and were prominent members of the society there, it is certain that the Moorfields society sang Watts regularly. The specifically Whitefieldian lyrical contribution to *DMM* consisted, rather, of 19 recent poems from *Hymns for Social Worship* written during the Evangelical Revival of the 1740s, including seven hymns by John Cennick, four by Charles Wesley, two by William Hammond, and one by Robert Seagrave. The other five remain unattributed. Notable among this corpus is Charles Wesley's *Ye servants of God, your master proclaim*, Cennick's *Children of the heav'nly king*, and Seagrave's *Rise my soul and stretch thy wings*. These 19 hymns amount to a textual canon for tunes sung in worship at Moorfields, along with Watts's lyrics.

Most important, *DMM* presented a new tune repertory for Whitefield's music. The tune book was remarkably innovative. Just eleven of its 68 tunes were reprints. Twenty-six tunes were new variants of previously published tunes, and 31 were published for the first time. These 57 tunes, if not categorically Whitefieldian in origin, were almost certainly sung at Moorfields. *DMM* set 37 of these tunes to texts by Watts and another 19 to lyrics from *Hymns for Social Worship*. The new tunes are especially important, but *DMM*'s variants also record the oral transformation of earlier tunes in their communities of use, including Moorfields, while the reprints indicate the musical background of the compiler and those communities. Given the musical needs of a new religious movement like Whitefield's, it seems inevitable that its earliest tune book should include at least some popular tunes already familiar to adherents. So it is with the borrowed tunes of *DMM*. BURFORD and WIRKSWORTH were very well established psalm tunes written in the 1720s by the country psalmody composers John Chetham and James Green, respectively. Other popular reprinted tunes were much more recent. ISLINGTON and WINCHESTER NEW had appeared in Wesley's *Foundery Collection* of 1742, but neither James Sheeles, the London composer of KETTERING (1745), nor Abraham Milner, the London compiler who published *DMM*'s version of WINCHESTER NEW in 1751, was associated with Methodism. As illustrated by this group of

the Use of Religious Societies. Generally composed in Dialogues. Part I and Part II. 2 vols. (Bristol: Felix Farley, 1743); John and Charles Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 2 vols. (London: W. Strahan, 1739).

notable examples, the reprinted tunes in *DMM* provided a repertorial foundation of some very well established Anglican psalm tunes and a few popular new ones, but with only limited Wesleyan influence.

Twenty-six tunes in *DMM*—nearly 40 percent of its corpus—were variants of previously published compositions (Table 1). Even the smallest melodic change to a psalm tune could make a significant difference for its performance and popularity. Many compilers therefore edited previously published tunes according to their own compositional sense or a local performance practice. Not surprisingly, most of *DMM*'s variants were revisions of earlier Wesleyan Methodist tunes that reflected their oral processing over years of singing at Moorfields. But the largest group of tunes in *DMM*, 31 of them, were original. The compiler highlighted this feature in his subtitle, stating that *DMM* was “a Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes: greater part of which were never before in Print.” This sizable corpus established *DMM* as a major new musical source for Whitefieldian and Wesleyan Methodists alike, as well as for London Dissent. Once again, Watts's texts dominated these settings, but HUNTINGTON, for example, was published with *Blest are the sons of God* by the Whitefieldian lay preacher Joseph Humphreys.

Table 1. The Text and Tune Repertory of *The Divine Musical Miscellany*

*=reprinted in Butts, *Harmonia-Sacra*, 1754; **=reprinted in Butts 1754 and 1768

n=new, r=reprint, v=variant

GW=Whitefield, *Hymns for Social Worship* (1753); WP=Watts, *Psalms of David Imitated* (1719); WH=Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1709); JC=Cennick, *Sacred Hymns for Religious Societies* (1742); JW=J. and C. Wesley, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1739)

Tune	HTI#	Type	Prints	Tune Source	Text	Text Source
*Aithlone	1712c	v	46	#TH/SGP	Jesus who died a world to save	GW Hymn39
**Alcester	1160b	v	87	#CTSF	Sing we to our God above	Doxology
*Alperam	999d	v	14	JacoJPG1/#CTSF/#TH	Why did the nations join to say	WP2
**Amsterdam	1648c	v	150	CTSF/TH	Rise my soul and stretch thy wings	GW Page111
**Armly	920c	v	131	JacoJPG1/#CTSF/#TH	Why did the Jews proclaim their rage	WP2
**Aywood	1650b	v	8	#CTSF	Think mighty God on feeble man	WP89
**Bethesda	2196a	n	181		Join all the glorious names	WH Book1:150
Beuelth	2197a	n	1		Come and let us ascend	WP89
**Bexley	1393b	v	67	TansWCM1	My heart and flesh cry out to thee	WP84
**Boston	1139b	v	119	PearWDC2	All ye that love the Lord rejoice	WP149
Braintree	2198	n	2		Rise o ye seed of David rise	GW Page118
*Brentwood	246e	v	33	RaveTWBPa/#CTSF	Ye nations round the earth rejoice	WP100
*Brude	1846B	v	4	BeesMCNa	Give thanks to God the sov'reign Lord	WP136
**Burford	846a	r	419	ChetJBP2	My soul lies cleaving in the dust	WP119
Cape Fear	2199	n	1		The whole creation join in one	WH Book1:62
*Carmarthen	1657d	v	27	#CTSF/#TH	Blest are the undefiled in heart	WP119
Charles Town	2201	n	15		Head of the church triumphant	GW Page127

Chatham	2202	n	3		When John born from heav'n	JC Part3:46
**Clifton	2203	n	14		Bless o my soul the living God	WP103
Dublin	2204a	n	1	Purcell alt.	Loving Saviour prince of peace	GW Page114
**Easter Sunday	685f	v	192	#LD/#CTSF/ArnoJCP2	Christ the Lord is ris'n today	#LD
*Edinburgh	995e	v	7	JacoJPG1/#CTSF/#TH	There is a land of pure delight	WH Book2:66
**Elenborough	2205a	n	103		With earnest longings of the mind	WP42
**Evening Hymn	1831b	v	95	HGFOO	No farther go tonight but stay	GW Page106
**Fairfax	2206a	n	25		Come my soul before the Lamb	GW Hymn87
Finsbury	2207	n	1		Tell us o women we would know	GW Page120
*Funeral Psalm	2208	n	8		Remember Lord our mortal state	WP89
*Glasgow	688c	v	4	#LD/JacoJPG1/#TH	What mercy hath the Saviour showed	JC Part3:88
*Halifax	1699b	v	26	#TH	Ye servants of God your master	GW Hymn50
*Havant	2209	n	40		Praise be to the Father given	JW Vol2 Page10
**Haverford West	2210	n	6	Purcell alt.	O come let us join in music divine	DMM
**Howarth	1654a	r	23	#CTSF	Holy Lamb who thee receive	GW Hymn94
**Huntington	2211a	n	113		Blest are the sons of God	GW Page122
*Ilford	2212a	n	3		None but Jesus will we sing	GW Page106
**Islington	1655a	r	246	#CTSF	The heav'ns declare thy glory Lord	WP19
**Kettering	1805	r	105	SheeJS	Sweet is the work my God my king	WP92
**Kingsbridge	2213a	n	144		Descend from heav'n immortal dove	WH Book2:23
**Kingsland	2214	n	6		Ho pilgrims if ye pilgrims be	GW Hymn123
**Kingswood	939c	v	26	RoneAMS/MoorTPS1	The Lord my pasture shall prepare	Addison Ps23
**Leeds	2215	n	7		Ye that delight to serve the Lord	WP113
**Limerick	630b	v	33	PlayHDC2	Lord I am vile conceived in sin	WP51
Liverpool	2216	n	1		O church esteemed	JC Part3:83
**Maryland	2217a	n	33		My soul the great Creator praise	WP104
**Morning Song	2218	n	69		Once more my soul the rising day	W Book2:23
**New York	1753a	r	36	PLayHDC1a	Lord we come before thee now	GW Hymn3
Newington	1753a	r	3	AlcoJP	We sing to thee thou son of God	GW Page117
On Div Use	2219	n	2		We sing to thee whose wisdom	PlayJWB1
**On Resurrect	1820	r	29	HGFOO	Rejoice the Lord is king	GW Page128
Oulney	1003c	v	12	JacoJPG1a/#CTSF	Is this the kind return	WH Book2:74
**Pembroke	2220	n	1		Let all the heathen writers join	WP119
**Philadelphia	1658b	v	10	#CTSF	Come and let us sweetly join	GW Page130
**Plymouth	917c	v	28	Jacobi/CTSF	Children of the heav'nly king	GW Page144
**Rodborough	642b	r	17	PlayHDC2/#CTSF	Rise rise my soul and leave the ground	WH Book2:17
**Sheerness	2083b	v	26	HoldSMC5	Blest are the men whose hearts are set	WP84
Sheffield	2210	n	1		Lord what a feeble piece is this	WP90
**Somerton	2222	n	14		Father of lights from whom proceeds	JW Vol1:85

**Sutton	2223a	n	211		To God the only wise our Saviour	WH Book1:51
**Thornbury	2224	n	23		With cheerful voice I sing the titles	WH Book1:148
**Trevekka	1652b	v	18	#CTSF	To praise redeeming love dear Christian	GW Hymn100
**Virginia	2225a	n	79	<i>Charming Chloe</i>	Go worship at Emmanuel's feet	WH Book1:147
Walthamstow	2226	n	1		Poor sinners indeed we come to our head	JC Part3:83
Wansted	2227a	n	2		Blessed Jesus king of kings	JC Part3:57
*Wednesbury	1651a	r	41	#CTSF/#TH	Happy the man whose cautious feet	WP1
*Wenlock	1665b	v	9	#CTSF	O that the Lord would guide my ways	WP119
**Weston Favell	1504b	v	236	KnapWSNP1	Come let us join our cheerful songs	WH Book1:62
Wilton	1830b	v	3	HGFOO	Lord when thou didst ascend on high	WP68
**Winchester New	1664d	r	177	#CTSF	My God accept my early vows	WP141
**Wirksworth	848b	r	437	ChetJBP1/GreeJBP5	The God Jehovah reigns	WP99

Sources: *The Hymn Tune Index* and *The Divine Musical Miscellany*. All coded information follows HTI use.

Four of DMM's tunes for John Cennick's dialogue hymns from *Hymns for Social Worship* offer the most direct evidence of performance practice at Moorfields. They also illustrate the musical range of the collection. Cennick, Whitefield's early colleague and one of his lay preachers at Moorfields, was the originator of the Evangelical dialogue hymn.⁴⁵ He experienced the New Birth as a young Anglican shoemaker in 1737 and took Whitefield's *Journals* as his spiritual guide. After Whitefield and the Wesleys met him in Oxford in 1739, they invited Cennick to join their revival at Kingswood near Bristol, where he is credited as becoming the first Methodist lay preacher. Wesley also appointed him a master in his school for colliers there. Described by a recent biographer as "a simple man" whose "earnest exhortations and colourful illustrations made him effective as a preacher," Cennick founded the first Methodist tabernacle at Kingswood in 1741.⁴⁶

Cennick aligned with Whitefield during the Calvinist–Arminian controversy and became a leader of Calvinistic Methodism in the early 1740s, even as he was becoming increasingly attracted to Moravian faith and practice. He had known James Hutton, the English Moravian, since his conversion, and he had met the Methodists at the moment of greatest Moravian influence on their emerging movement. At worship the Moravians practiced antiphonal singing among their various "choirs" of single and married members, evidenced by Thomas Hutton's antiphonal English-language texts in his *Collection of Hymns: Consisting chiefly of Translations from the German Hymnbook of the Moravian Brethren, Part III* (1748).⁴⁷ It is likely that Cennick learned antiphonal hymnody from this early contact with Hutton and the Moravians. It is certain

⁴⁵ See Robin A. Leaver, "Psalms and Hymns and Hymns and Sacred Poems: Two Strands of Wesleyan Hymn Collections," in Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield, eds., *Music and the Wesleys* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 47.

⁴⁶ Peter J. Lineham, "Cennick, John (1718–1755)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.luna.wellesley.edu> (accessed May 2013).

⁴⁷ [Thomas Hutton], *Collection of Hymns: Consisting chiefly of Translations from the German Hymn-Book of the Moravian Brethren*. Part III. (London: Thomas Hutton, 1748), #TH 1744.

that he had embraced dialogue singing by 1742, when he wrote *Rise ye seed of David, rise* for “the Society in London”—Moorfields Tabernacle—and published it in his *Sacred Hymns for the Children of God, In the Days of their Pilgrimage*.⁴⁸ By the end of 1743, Cennick had written dozens of new antiphonal hymns for his followers, including those at Moorfields, which appeared in *Sacred Hymns for the Use of Religious Societies. Generally composed in Dialogues*.⁴⁹ Whitefield included just six of Cennick’s dialogue hymns in *Hymns for Social Worship*, but their controversial form led him to defend them in the hymnal’s preface. “I think myself justified in publishing some Hymns by way of Dialogue for the use of the Society,” he wrote, “because something like it is practiced in our Cathedral Churches; but much more because the Celestial Choir is represented in the Book of Revelations, as answering one another in their heav’nly Anthems.” The cathedral reference seems to have been to the practice of chanting the Psalms antiphonally. The scripture references were to Revelation 5:11–14, in which the heavenly host and “every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea” sing antiphonal praise to the Lamb, and to Revelation 19:1–8, the singing of the multitudes at the marriage feast of the Lamb.

DMM provided music for four of these dialogue hymns. The first pairing is *We sing to thee thou son of God*, set to NEWINGTON tune. It requires two groups of singers, most likely divided down the middle of the Tabernacle, who sing two lines at a time in alternating sequence (Fig. 6).

Figure 6. NEWINGTON Tune, DMM, 63. Courtesy of The British Library.

I We sing to thee thou Son of God,
Who saved us by thy grace.
We praise thee Son of Man whose blood
Redeemed our fallen race.

⁴⁸ John Cennick, *Sacred Hymns for the Children of God, In the Days of their Pilgrimage* (London: John Lewis, 1742), 1.26.

⁴⁹ John Cennick, *Sacred Hymns for the Use of Religious Societies. Generally composed in Dialogues. Part I and Part II*. 2 vols. (Bristol: Felix Farley, 1743).

2 We Thee acknowledge, God and Lord,
 Father ere Time began:
Thou art by Heav'n, and Earth ador'd,
*Worthy o'er both to reign.*⁵⁰

In *Ho pilgrims, (if ye pilgrims be)*/KINGSLAND, however, the two groups are distinguished lyrically as Christian pilgrims and those who want to join them. Cennick's text adds an element of dramatic dialogue and mutual instruction that heightens the ritual action of the antiphonal singing, with the "inquirers" singing first and the "pilgrims" second (Fig. 7).

1 Ho, pilgrims (if ye pilgrims be)
 We want to join with you.
Poor Christian travelers are we,
To Canaan's land we go.

2 No Peace ('tho we have sought) we find,
 In any Country here:
'Twas therefore we left all behind,
*Wealth, name, and Character.*⁵¹

Kingsland Tune . A Dialogue Hymn. Page 123. G. W. C. M. 63

Ho Pilgrims (if ye Pilgrims be) We want to join with you Poor Christian Travellers are we To Canaan's Land we go.

Chorus

Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah, Hal - le - lu - jah.

No Peace ('tho we have sought) we find,
 In any Country here,
 'Twas therefore we left all behind
 Wealth Name and Character.

Figure 7. KINGSLAND Tune, *DMM*, 63. Courtesy of The British Library.

The two other dialogue hymns in *DMM* complicate the nature and performance of the genre by introducing gendered groups of singers. *Rise, o ye seed of David rise*, Cennick's first Moorfields dialogue hymn set to BRAINTREE, divides the congregation into gender groups with the men singing first to the women, who then respond (Fig. 8).

⁵⁰ Ibid., I.2.; *DMM*, 63.

⁵¹ Ibid., I.32; *DMM*, 65.

1 Rise, o ye seed of David rise,
Daughters of Zion sing.
*Up sons of Jacob Jesus praise,
Salute th'auspicious King.*

2 Your lamps ye waiting Virgins trim,
For lo! the Bridegroom comes:
*Join with us, and our Lays to him,
Shall be as rich Perfume.*⁵²

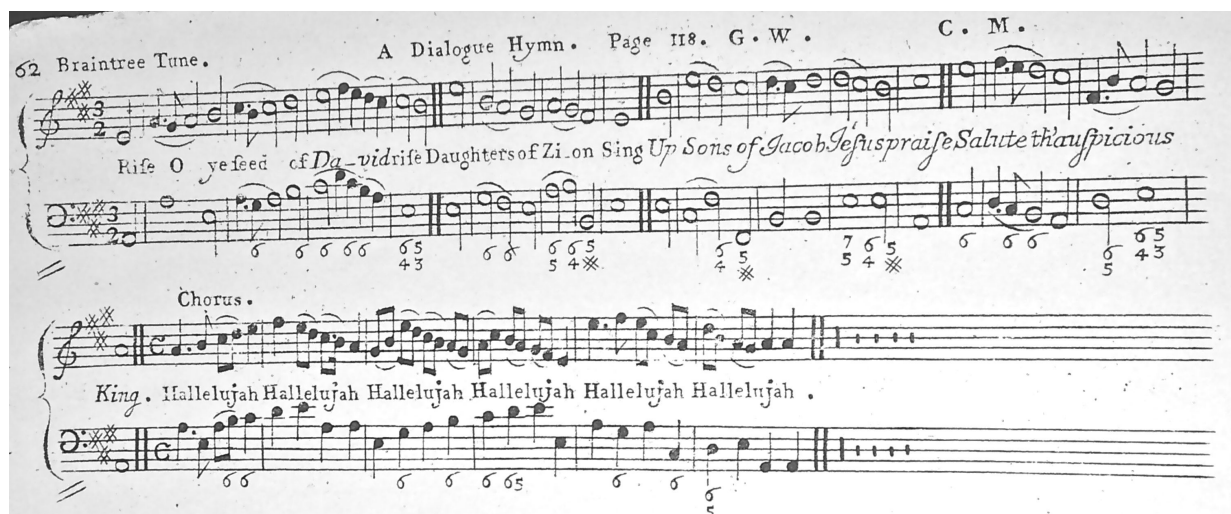


Figure 8. BRAINTREE Tune, DMM, 62. Courtesy of The British Library.

The gendering of singing groups is most explicit in *Tell us, o women, we wou'd know*, a Bunyanesque lyric set to FINSBURY tune that Cennick called “The Pilgrims Hymn, in a Dialogue” (Fig. 9). Here the men begin by asking the women a series of questions that seem to acknowledge their more rapid progress on the way of spiritual pilgrimage.

1 Tell us, O women! we wou'd know
Whither so fast ye move?
*We're called to leave the World below,
Are seeking one above.*

2 Whence came ye? say—and what the Place
That ye are trav'ling from?
*From Tribulation, we thro' Grace
Are now returning home.*

3 Is not your native Country here
The Place of your Abode?
*We seek a better Country far,
A City built by God.*

⁵² Cennick, *Sacred Hymns for the Children of God*, I.26 and *Sacred Hymns for the Use of Religious Societies*, I.3; DMM, 62.

Eventually the men reveal that they too are following on the same road and express their resolve to join the women in reaching the “City built by God.”

4 Thither we travel, nor intend
Short of that Bliss to rest:
Nor we, 'till in the Sinner's Friend
Our weary Souls are bless'd.⁵³



Figure 9. FINSBURY Tune, *DMM*, 64. Courtesy of The British Library.

In an Evangelical movement that feminized the soul's regenerating affections and regarded converts like Elizabeth Singer Rowe and Sarah Pierrepont Edwards as spiritual archetypes for all believers, it is not entirely surprising to find this strong endorsement of female piety in the lyrics written by John Cennick on the verge of his embrace of Moravianism. More instructive for the practice of Whitefield's music, however, is the clear implication that the worshipping congregation at Moorfields was organized for singing by gender on at least some occasions. Whether this gendered singing was also spatial—whether worship at the Tabernacle separated the genders—cannot be determined from these texts. They do not require spatial separation, but they also could express it. These scores for Cennick's dialogue hymns also demonstrate a direct relationship between the compiler of *DMM* and worship at Moorfields. It is highly unlikely that Whitefield himself was the musical editor of *DMM*, as Maurice Frost implied, but it is beyond question that the tune book's compiler witnessed dialogue singing and other praise at Moorfields.

The scores of these dialogue hymns also display the stylistic range of Whitefield's music. Three of the four tunes are in major key and triple time. NEWINGTON and BRAINTREE follow the well-established style of early English country psalmody, based on Tate and Brady's *Supplement to the New Version of Psalms* (1700/1708). Their half-note movement in 3/2 adagio “mood of time” is enlivened, with restraint, by occasional dotted figures and brief quarter-note melismas.

⁵³ Cennick, *Sacred Hymns for the Use of Religious Societies*, 1.7; *DMM*, 64.

By contrast, FINSBURY appropriated the melodic and rhythmic techniques of London theater music, as did KINGSLAND, the outlier in minor key and the very fast tempo of 2/4 or “allegro-allegro.” These florid tunes featured large intervallic leaps, extended quarter-note melismas, and, in KINGSLAND, cadential triplets.

DMM was one of the first Evangelical tune books to contain a significant amount of this adapted music from the London stage. A clear indication of its influence at Moorfields occurred in the choral hallelujahs appended to all four dialogue hymns. Hallelujah singing was related to the practice of singing doxologies after hymns that Whitefield endorsed, but it was far more stylistically adventurous and modern. In all four cases in *DMM*, the hallelujahs changed time signature, typically accelerating from the tempo of the hymn proper. In BRAINTREE and FINSBURY, the hallelujah section shifted from triple time to common or double time, while in KINGSLAND it moved the other way, from common time to triple time. Most important, these hallelujah sections invited singers at the Tabernacle to perform the complex melismatic lines, large intervallic leaps, and dotted rhythms of London theater music in the service of congregational praise to God. It was a heady innovation that seems especially to have characterized Whitefieldian sacred song.

Reception History of *The Divine Musical Miscellany*

The influence of *DMM*'s new and variant tunes and their paired texts can be established empirically by tracing their reception history in tune books published during Whitefield's life and the half-century that followed it. Given the notorious difficulties in assessing Whitefield's influence—even during his lifetime he was both everywhere and nowhere—this approach promises at least a new way to address that question, and perhaps a new answer as well. Analysis of the reception history of the *Miscellany* through the *Hymn Tune Index* reveals a very wide range of text and tune afterlives. On the one hand, neither the text nor the tune for eight of *DMM*'s pairings was ever reprinted. A similar number appeared just twice or thrice. The four dialogue hymns provide a good example of these pairings that made little or no subsequent impact. FINSBURY with its dramatically gendered text was never reprinted after *DMM*, and BRAINTREE appeared only once in 1761, without text, in *The Psalm Singer's Pocket Amusement* by Abraham Milner. NEWINGTON was reprinted in R. Williamson's two tune books, *A Collection of Psalm Tunes with a Thorough Bass* (1762) and *Harmonia Sacra, or Divine and Moral Songs* (1770), both times with an altered text. KINGSLAND had the widest circulation of the dialogue hymns because it was reprinted in the 1754 and 1768 editions of Thomas Butts's popular *Harmonia-Sacra* as well as in Milner's *Pocket Amusement*, but none of those tune reprintings included Whitefield's original texts. These findings demonstrate that the dialogue hymn did not spread to other Dissenting or Anglican communities despite Whitefield's advocacy and direct involvement with its development and performance.

Other *DMM* tunes flourished while their paired texts largely disappeared. Six new and variant tunes of this type were reprinted more than 100 times each before 1820, but far fewer times with their original texts: ARMLY (131/15), BETHESDA (181/8), ELENBOROUGH (103/33), HUNTINGTON (113/7), KINGSBRIDGE (144/4), SUTTON (211/6). In some cases, this text

Figure 11. AN HYMN FOR EASTER SUNDAY, *DMM*, 40. Courtesy of The British Library.

WESTON FAVELL (1504b) represents both a more popular tune and a stronger text and tune bond. The tune was the first published variant of William Knapp's successful composition of the same name from *A Set of New Psalm-Tunes* (1738). *DMM*'s editor paired it with Watts's well-known lyric *Come, let us join our cheerful songs* from *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1707/1709) (Fig. 12). The combination proved powerful and lasting. *DMM*'s version of WESTON FAVELL was printed 236 times before 1820, paired with *Come, let us join* 86 times. It is another tune in Crawford's core repertory.⁵⁷

Figure 12. WESTON FAVELL Tune, *DMM*, 30. Courtesy of The British Library.

The most lasting Whitefieldian text and tune pairing, however, was the 7.6.7.6. Doubled Meter poem *Rise my soul and stretch thy wings* by Robert Seagrave, set in *DMM* to the tune AMSTERDAM. Seagrave (1693–1759) was an early associate of Whitefield and Wesley who took

⁵⁷ Crawford, *Core Repertory*, 156–57.

the Calvinist side in the doctrinal controversy of 1739–41 and later preached regularly at Moorfields. *DMM* was the first tune book to present a musical setting for Seagrave's lyric. John Julian identified *Rise my soul* as one of Seagrave's original lyrics in his *Hymns for Christian Worship, partly composed, and partly collected from various Authors* (1742), and subsequent editors and interpreters have followed this attribution. But the lyric does not appear there, and its first publication at present remains unknown. It may have been an occasional hymn written for the Moorfields congregation, because Whitefield published it in *Hymns for Social Worship*, through which it gained transatlantic celebrity.⁵⁸

Seagrave was an unabashed advocate of "hymns of human composure" championed by Whitefieldian and Dissenting communities for worship by those "properly conversant on the Subject of Free-Grace." In the preface to his *Hymns for Christian Worship*, he defended "the use of . . . their own Compositions" by such congregations as an exercise of their Christian liberty, "provided they speak a Language altogether agreeable to the Scripture, and such as arises from true Christian Experience." Seagrave reported that "in the Place where I am ministerially concern'd, and some others, Hymns of the kind here publish'd, have been attended with singular Usefulness. Flatness and Deadness of Spirit are in a great measure remov'd, and, I trust, the spirit of true Devotion is breathing amongst us."⁵⁹

The *Hymn Tune Index* lists 165 tune book printings of *Rise my soul* by 1820. The 7.6.7.6. Doubled text also appeared in virtually every major Evangelical worded hymnal and supplement to Watts after 1753, including Wesley's *Collection of Hymns for the People Called Methodists* (1780), Joel Barlow's *Psalms of David . . . with a collection of hymns* (1786), John Rippon's *Selection of Hymns from the best Authors* (1787), Timothy Dwight's *Psalms of David* (1801), and Samuel Worcester's *Christian Psalmody* ("Watts and Select," 1815).⁶⁰ This popularity can be ascribed first to Seagrave's celebratory language and natural metaphors describing the regenerate soul's ascent from terrestrial "transitory things" to the eternal joys of heaven.

I Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings,
Thy better portion trace;
Rise from transitory things,
Towards heaven, thy destined place:

⁵⁸ John Julian, *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (London: John Murray, 1892), 964b; Whitefield, *Hymns*, 111.

⁵⁹ Robert Seagrave, *Hymns for Christian worship, partly composed, and partly collected from various authors* (London: s.n., 1742), iii–iv.

⁶⁰ John Wesley, *A Collection of Hymns, for the Use of the People called Methodists* (London: J. Paramore, 1780); Joel Barlow, ed., *Doctor Watts's Imitation of the Psalms of David, corrected and enlarged, by Joel Barlow; To which is added a Collection of Hymns; the Whole applied to the State of the Christian Church in General* (Hartford, Conn.: Hudson and Goodwin, 1786); John Rippon, *A Selection of Hymns from the best Authors, intended to be an Appendix to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns* (London: Thomas Wilkins, [1787]); Timothy Dwight, ed., *The Psalms of David, imitated in the Language of the New Testament, and applied to the Christian Use and Worship by I. Watts, D.D. A new Edition, in which the Psalms omitted by Dr. Watts are versified, local Passages are altered, and a number of Psalms are versified anew, in proper Metres* (Hartford, Conn.: Hudson and Goodwin, 1801); Samuel Worcester, *Christian Psalmody, in Four Parts comprising Dr. Watts's Psalms abridged, Dr. Watts's Hymns abridged, Select Hymns from other authors, and Select Harmony together with directions for musical expressions* (Boston: Samuel Armstrong, 1815).

Sun and moon and stars decay,
 Time shall soon this earth remove;
 Rise, my soul, and haste away
 To seats prepared above.

2 Rivers to the ocean run,
 Nor stay in all their course;
 Fire ascending seeks the sun;
 Both speed them to their source:
 So my soul, derived from God,
 Longs to view His glorious face,
 Forward tends to His abode,
 To rest in His embrace.

AMSTERDAM tune also contributed to the appeal of this pairing. The original tune was composed by Johann Georg Hille from the German hymn *Sei willkommen* (Zahn 7341a). John Wesley published it first in *Foundery*; Thomas Hutton followed with a variant in his 1744 Moravian tune book. *DMM*'s second variant proved to be the greatest Whitefieldian hit. The tune is written in country psalmody style, with AABBA structure and arced stepwise phrases. Its ornamentation is limited to a few eighth- and sixteenth-note slurs, but its tempo is the very quick and modern allegro-allegro, or 2/4. It provided an ideal setting for Seagrave's uplifting lyric, easy to perform, emotionally effective, and satisfying to sing (Fig. 13). The tune was reprinted 150 times by 1820, 78 times with its original text.⁶¹ *Rise my soul*/AMSTERDAM was especially favored in America, transmitted by leading compilers including Andrew Law, Andrew Adgate, Oliver Holden, and Amos Pilsbury. It was also published in later editions of *The Village Harmony* from 1812, and in William Little and William Smith's *The Easy Instructor* from 1817.⁶² It appears, without attribution, as the third *DMM* tune in Crawford's *Core Repertory of Early American Psalmody*.⁶²

⁶¹ *The Village Harmony; or, Youth's Assistant to Sacred Musick*, 11th ed. (Newburyport, Mass.: E. Little & Co., [1812]), #VH 11a; and William Little and William Smith, *The Easy Instructor; or, A New Method of Teaching Sacred Harmony* (Albany: Websters & Skinners and Daniel Steele, [1817]), LittWEI p 1817.

⁶² Crawford, *Core Repertory*, 5–6.

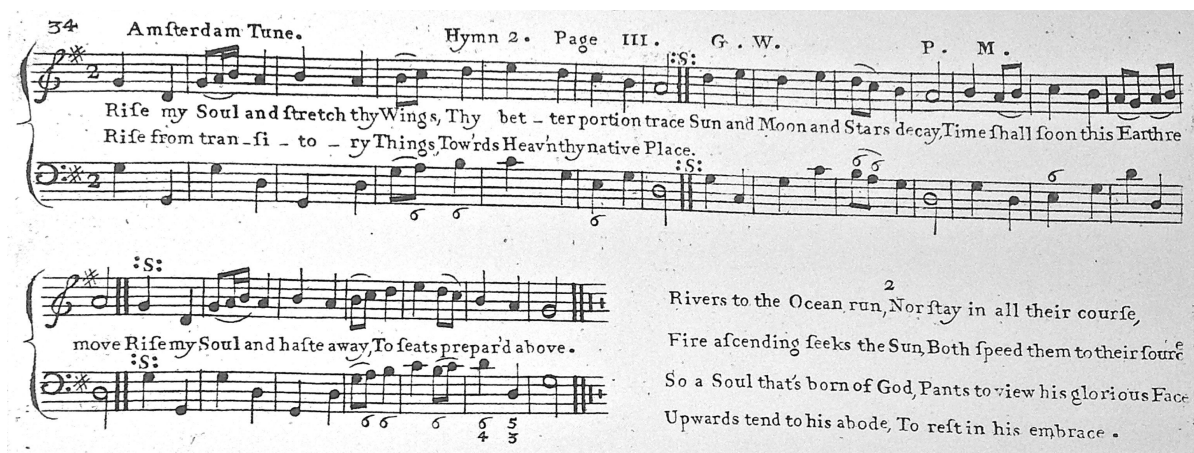


Figure 13. AMSTERDAM Tune, *DMM*. 34. Courtesy of The British Library.

The Divine Musical Miscellany and the Fashioning of Early Evangelical Hymnody

The examples considered thus far illustrate various aspects of text and tune reception of the Whitefieldian repertory from *DMM*, but they do not address the larger questions of why and how Whitefield's words and music arrived at their later destinations. There are, however, clear patterns of tune and text transmission in the decades between *DMM*'s publication and 1820 that give an initial answer to these questions. Analysis through the *Hymn Tune Index* shows how the compilers of these later tune books handled *DMM*'s texts and tunes, thereby supplying a broader account of Whitefield's music and the fashioning of early Evangelical hymnody.

The pattern of tune acceptance and text replacement from *DMM* that began with Butts's 1754 *Harmonia-Sacra* continued through the 1760s in five other tune books within the Methodist-Evangelical Anglican orbit. In 1761 John Wesley published his second tune book, *Select Hymns with Tunes Annexed*, a collection of 102 texted tunes that competed with *Harmonia*. He reprinted 35 tunes from *DMM* but replaced even more of their texts than Butts had, allowing just two of them to remain. Wesley retained this textual pattern in his slightly expanded 1765 collection called *Sacred Melody*, which remained the standard Wesleyan Methodist tune collection for many years. In response to Wesley, Thomas Butts recast the second edition of his *Harmonia-Sacra* in 1768 for Evangelical Anglicans, particularly the London elite who supported the city's new charitable hospitals. For this market, Butts included virtually all of the 41 *DMM* tunes he had reprinted in 1754 but did not restore any original texts from *DMM* that he had replaced with Charles Wesley's lyrics. R. Williamson's two London tune books contained four tunes from *DMM*, all of them with lyrics different from their Whitefieldian originals. It is clear from these sources that during Whitefield's lifetime, Wesleyans continued to sing *DMM*'s tunes while rejecting its texts and theology.

An alternative pattern emerged from London's Dissenters, who began to embrace the Whitefieldian collection's original text and tune pairings. The first Dissenting compiler to reprint any of *DMM*'s tunes was Thomas Knibb, a London Presbyterian, in his *Collection of Tunes in Three Parts, that are now us'd in the several Dissenting Congregations in London* (1755). Knibb provided treble harmony parts for each of his 82 tunes, borrowing many of Thomas Butts's

arrangements from the first edition of *Harmonia-Sacra* and thereby giving a Wesleyan musical twist to this second pattern of transmission. Knibb's tune book included three original tunes from *DMM*—BETHESDA, SUTTON, and THORNBURY—and four of its new tune variants—BRENTWOOD, CARMARTHEN, WENLOCK, and WESTON FAVELL—a substantial transfer of musical material that identifies Knibb as one of London's first Dissenting singing masters and compilers to be influenced by worship and musical practice at Moorfields.

Knibb's handling of the texts also shows another aspect of *DMM*'s reception among Dissenters. The dominance that the sacred poetry of Isaac Watts still exercised over Dissenting worship in 1755 required Knibb to market his tune book as "fit to bind up with Dr. Watts's Psalms." Therefore he reprinted five tunes from *DMM* with their paired texts from Watts.⁶³ He also replaced the original texts for the other two *DMM* tunes, including Cennick's dialogue hymn *Rise, o ye seed of David rise*, with Wattsian lyrics.⁶⁴ The initial price of incorporating Whitefield's music into Dissent was the replacement of its original texts by those from Watts.

Around 1760 Knibb expanded this collection to 112 tunes in a new edition he retitled *The Psalm Singers Help (PSH)*.⁶⁵ Bolstered by Butts's three-part arrangements and the addition of thorough-bass notation for keyboard accompaniment, Knibb's tune book was aimed at the burgeoning middle-class musical culture of London Dissenters. *The Psalm Singers Help* was quite successful. It eventually ran to seven editions and by 1771 the tune book included 161 tunes, making it almost exactly the same size as Butts's 1768 *Harmonia-Sacra*, its principal rival for the non-Wesleyan Evangelical market. Knibb's tune book proved to be a landmark in the development of Evangelical Calvinist hymnody and the principal conduit through which Whitefieldian texts and tunes flowed on to later Dissenting Anglo-American tune books.⁶⁶

In *The Psalm Singers Help*, Knibb reversed his reticence about Whitefield's texts paired to *DMM*'s tunes. He designated a group of them as the concluding section of the new tune book. "The Tunes from Page 96 to the End of ye Book," he advised users, "being mostly us'd by the Methodists are suited to their Metre."⁶⁷ Knibb equated "Mr. G.W." with "Methodist" and was

⁶³ The tunes are BETHESDA, CARMARTHEN, SUTTON, THORNBURY, and WESTON FAVELL.

⁶⁴ [Thomas Knibb], *A Collection of Tunes in three Parts, That are now us'd in the several dissenting Congregations in London fit to bind up with Dr Watts's Psalms Together with an Introduction for the Use of Learners* (London: Thos. Knibb, [ca. 1755]), KnibTCTTP 1755, 36, 54, 55, 66, 76, 81, 82, 96.

⁶⁵ [Thomas Knibb], *The Psalm Singers Help, being a Collection of Tunes in Three Parts, that are now us'd in the several Dissenting Congregations in London* (London: Thos. Knibb, [ca. 1760]), KnibTPSH a 1760.

⁶⁶ The date of *PSH* is in dispute, with the *British Union-Catalogue of Early Music* giving 1765 and *HTI* claiming circa 1760 with the remark that "the new material uses texts from Whitefield's *Hymns* (1753) but not from Madan's (1760) [compare ed. b]. Thus the *BUC* date of [ca.1765] seems too late." Madan's *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, with its Evangelical Calvinist lyrics, would indeed have appealed to Knibb, but its Anglican institutional affiliation may have worked in the opposite direction. It is also quite possible that Knibb went to press before Madan's *Collection* had appeared. Internal evidence from *PSH* corroborates the 1760 dating. The tune book includes a setting of Charles Wesley's *He comes, he comes, the Judge severe!* (1758) to TRUMPET tune. *He comes* did not appear in Whitefield's *Hymns* until the eighth edition of 1759, when it was hurriedly inserted without pagination as the final text. Knibb, however, gives the page number for *He comes* as "page 178th Mr. G.W.," a numeration the text did not receive until the tenth edition of *Hymns* in 1760. Therefore the earliest possible edition of Whitefield's *Hymns* that Knibb could have used was that one. *He comes* remained on page 178 for all of the subsequent editions published during Whitefield's lifetime.

⁶⁷ Knibb, *PSH*, 124.

aware that Whitefieldians, like Wesleyans, were creating a distinctive body of Evangelical sacred song through the effective use of “Particular Metres.” Knibb keyed the scores of these “Methodist” tunes to Whitefield’s *Hymns for Social Worship*, giving “Mr. G.W.” and the appropriate page number from the tenth edition of *Hymns for Social Worship* (1760) as the text attribution.⁶⁸ *The Psalm-Singers Helper* represented a huge expansion of Whitefield’s music into Dissent. What Knibb did with it editorially underlines a crucial difference between Wesleyan and Dissenting appropriation of the Whitefieldian corpus. Whereas Butts and Wesley accepted *DMM*’s tunes but rejected its texts, Knibb’s Evangelical Calvinist theology enabled him to preserve 12 of the 18 original text and tune pairings he compiled from the Whitefieldian tune book. Not surprisingly, he assigned texts from Watts to the other six tunes.

Two of *DMM*’s original text and tune pairings found their way via Knibb into *Urania*, a pioneer colonial American tune book published at Philadelphia in 1761 by the Presbyterian minister James Lyon, but the most important Dissenting redactor of *DMM* after Knibb was Aaron Williams, a Welsh engraver, singing master, composer, and clerk of the Scots Presbyterian Church in London Wall.⁶⁹ In 1763 Williams published *The Universal Psalmist* for the use of London Dissenters. In his preface, he closely followed Whitefield’s apology for singing psalms and hymns in worship. He cited the same apocalyptic biblical imagery of praise as Whitefield had done, with the same implication of hallelujah singing after hymns. The grandeur of singing praise, he wrote,

is abundantly evident from Scripture, especially the Revelations, which abounds with heavenly anthems, where we are told, that the Angels and Archangels join in singing Hallelujahs, etc. to Him that sits on the throne, and to the Lamb forever and ever. And shall we be shamefully silent? Should we not join in the Chorus, as we term it, or rather imitate their strains, by joining to sing the praises of almighty God, for his wonderful works of creation and providence, but, above all, for the great work of redemption, which far exceeds our highest praise.⁷⁰

Williams followed Knibb’s precedent by reprinting 21 tunes from *DMM*, 11 of them with their original texts, including *Ye servants of God your master proclaim*/HALLIFAX and *Children of the heav’nly king*/PLYMOUTH. Interestingly, more than half of Williams’s original *DMM* text choices differed from those of his fellow Presbyterian Knibb, indicating that Dissenting compilers exercised a significant degree of editorial freedom. Williams also arranged AMSTERDAM into a four-part version with melody in the tenor and harmony for treble, alto, and bass. This new arrangement was reprinted almost immediately in Boston by Josiah Flagg in his 1764 tune book *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes*, engraved by Paul Revere.⁷¹

Flagg’s *Collection* was one of the first true tune books published in New England after Thomas Walter and John Tufts had pioneered the genre in the British colonies during the Regular

⁶⁸ Ibid., 96–123.

⁶⁹ James Lyon, *Urania, or A choice Collection of Psalm-tunes, Anthems, and Hymns, from the most approv’d Authors, with some entirely new* (Philadelphia: [William Bradford?], [1761]), LyonJU a 1761; Nicholas Temperley, “Williams, Aaron,” Oxford Music Online.

⁷⁰ Aaron Williams, *The Universal Psalmist . . . The Second Edition, Corrected* (London: Joseph Johnson, 1764), WillAUP 1 1763, A2 recto.

⁷¹ Josiah Flagg, *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes* (Boston: Paul Revere and Josiah Flagg, 1764), FlagJCBPT 1764.

Singing Controversy of the 1720s.⁷² Flagg underlined the diversity of his tune selection process, saying that he had “endeavour’d, according to the best of his Judgment, to extract the Sweets out of a Variety of the fragrant Flowrs: He has taken from every Author he has seen, a few Tunes, which he judges to be the best, and compriz’d them within the Compass of a small Pocket Volume.”⁷³ The title page of Flagg’s *Collection* also averred that its tunes had “been approved of by the best Masters in Boston, New England.” Flagg doubtless did consult the city’s Congregational singing masters, possibly even including William Billings, who was just starting out at the time. Their verdict included Williams’s arrangement of AMSTERDAM, as well as three other tunes from *DMM*, two of them with their original texts.

After Flagg’s *Collection*, the Whitefieldian repertory was appropriated in America by Daniel Bayley, Jr., of Newburyport, Massachusetts, who began publishing sacred music in 1767. Bayley “worked as a potter and shopkeeper, and served as a clerk and possibly chorister at St Paul’s [Anglican] church, Newburyport.” His sustained efforts to reprint Williams’s *Universal Psalmist*, however, indicate both its popularity and Bayley’s interest in Dissenting and Evangelical hymnody.⁷⁴ Bayley published Williams’s four-part arrangement of AMSTERDAM—along with AITHLONE, ALCESTER, and PLYMOUTH from *DMM* with their original text pairings—more than a dozen times between 1767 and 1774 in his heavily revised version of *The Universal Psalmist* that he marketed along with William Tans’ur’s *Royal Melody Complete* under the general title *The American Harmony*.⁷⁵

The reception history of the Whitefieldian repertory of *DMM* in the Dissenting tune books of Knibb, Williams, Flagg, and Bayley reveals a transmission pattern that contrasts sharply with the Wesleyan line of Butts, Wesley, and Williamson. Whereas the latter embraced the tunes in *DMM* and replaced their texts from Whitefield’s *Hymns for Social Worship*, the former consistently reprinted original *DMM* text and tune pairings. The answer to the question of what happened to Whitefield’s music, at least during his lifetime, is finally clear. The theological rift between Whitefield and Wesley translated into the rejection of texts from *Hymns for Social Worship* by Wesleyans and their acceptance by Dissenters. Wesleyan Methodists readily appropriated many tunes from the Whitefieldian repertory first published in *DMM*, but they sang them to lyrics by Charles Wesley because of their theological differences with the Moorfields tradition. Dissenters, on the other hand, reprinted a smaller but still important number of those tunes and sang most of them to Whitefield’s original texts because they welcomed their Evangelical Calvinist theology.

Unfortunately, Whitefield’s music did not find significant support where it should have been the strongest, in the “Connexion” of chapels and preachers supported by Selina Hastings, countess of Huntingdon, and the chapel of the Lock Hospital for venereal disease in London.

⁷² Thomas Walter, *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* (Boston: J. Franklin, 1721), WaltTG 1 1721; and John Tufts, *An Introduction to the Art of Singing Psalm-Tunes*, 3rd ed. (Boston: For Samuel Gerrish, 1723), TuftJI 3 1723. A 1721 first edition of Tufts is posited but has not survived. See Allen Perdue Britton, Irving Lowens, and Richard Crawford, *American Sacred Music Imprints 1698–1810: A Bibliography* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1990), 583–84.

⁷³ Flagg, *Collection*, A1 recto.

⁷⁴ Richard Crawford/Nym Cooke, “Bayley, Daniel,” *Oxford Music Online*.

⁷⁵ The very complicated history of Bayley’s imprints of *The American Harmony* is worked out definitively in Britton et al., *American Sacred Music Imprints*, 116–34.

These were the religious institutions most closely associated with Whitefield, yet by the 1760s they had abandoned all the tunes of *DMM* and many of the texts in *Hymns for Social Worship*. Selina (1701–91) was Whitefield's greatest aristocratic patron during his life and executor of his will for the Bethesda Orphan House. She built her chapel at Bath and a seminary at Trevecca in Wales for the evangelist and his followers. After his death her Connexion of chapels was the closest thing to an organized Whitefieldian denomination on either side of the Atlantic.⁷⁶ Yet at some time in the 1760s Selina appointed the composer Benjamin Milgrove as precentor of the chapel at Bath. Milgrove seems to have set out on a wholesale revision of the Connexion's sacred music. He published 26 tunes between 1768 and 1771 that created an alternative musical repertory for worship in what had been Whitefield's most prestigious congregation. Even more surprisingly, most of the texts Milgrove set were not taken from *Hymns for Social Worship*. Only six of the 26 came from that source, though Milgrove set other texts by Charles Wesley, William Hammond, and other writers whom Whitefield had championed.⁷⁷

The other absence was not quite as total, but it followed the same pattern of tune exclusion. The Lock Hospital was founded in London in 1746 by William Bronfeild (1712–92). It quickly gained charitable support from aristocratic patrons as well as Evangelical Anglican clergy. In 1759 Martin Madan, a wealthy lawyer, convert of John Wesley, fervent Whitefieldian, and accomplished musician, volunteered to serve as chaplain of the hospital. With his own funds he financed the building of a chapel for the hospital and began to prepare a musical program for worship there. Madan made the Lock Hospital chapel into a major redoubt in the improvised Whitefieldian institutional array in London. The patients were not healthy enough to form their own choir, so Madan explored ways to create a congregation of accomplished singers. With the help of Charles Lockhart, the chapel organist, he enlisted notable London composers including Felice Giardini, Felice Alessandri, Charles Burney, and John Worgan to write new harmonized tunes in the Italianate “gallant” style favored by the city's elite.⁷⁸

In 1762 Madan began publishing folios of a dozen of these tunes for use by congregants and other wealthy patrons of the hospital. The popularity of these short collections was so great that Madan produced an omnibus anthology of them in 1769 called *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes Never Before Published*.⁷⁹ His affinity for Whitefieldian hymnody was evidenced by the presence of 35 texts from *Hymns for Social Worship*, more than one-third of the collection. But while these texts survived at the Lock Hospital, their associated music from *DMM* was

⁷⁶ See Edwin Welch, *Spiritual Pilgrim: A Reassessment of the Life of the Countess of Huntington* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995) and Alan Harding, *Selina, Countess of Huntington* (Peterborough, England: Epworth, 2007).

⁷⁷ Watkins Shaw et al., “Bath,” *Oxford Music Online*; Benjamin Milgrove, *Sixteen Hymns As they are sung At the Right Honourable The Countess of Huntingdon's Chappel in Bath. Set to Music by Benjn. Milgrove. Printed and Published According to Act of Parliament*. ([Bath?]: s.n., [1768]), MilgBH1 1768; *Twelve Hymns As they are sung At the Right Honourable The Countess of Huntingdon's Chappel in Bath. Set to Music by Benjn. Milgrove. Book 2nd. Printed and Published According to Act of Parliament*. ([Bath?]: s.n., [1771]), MilgBH2 1771.

⁷⁸ Nicholas Temperley, “The Lock Hospital Chapel and Its Music,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 118/1 (1993): 45–46.

⁷⁹ [Martin Madan], *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn Tunes* ([London]: To be had at the Lock Hospital, [1769]), *LHC A c 1769.

completely abandoned in favor of the new tunes that Madan had sponsored. Oddly enough, both Milgrove and Madan retained the Moorfields ritual of dialogue hymns in their tune collections, but without *DMM*'s music or lyrics. At root, both of these Whitefieldian musical leaders seem to have been motivated to create a more stylish contemporary repertory of praise for their aristocratic and elite constituencies than Moorfields offered.

DMM had far less impact on the development of early Evangelical sacred song than the collections of John and Charles Wesley, but it was a crucial source for both Thomas Butts's *Harmonia-Sacra* and emergent Dissenting hymnody. The reasons for this pattern are not as obvious as they might at first appear. Certainly the huge and often brilliant corpus of Charles Wesley's sacred poems must be considered decisive. Whitefieldians had nothing like Wesley's hymns, published in 81 collections between 1739 and 1785, though writers like Cennick, Seagrave, and Hammond made significant contributions to Evangelical Calvinist praise. But the discrepancy in musical influence has other dimensions that have not been as generally noted. A major part of the difference must be assigned to the failure of Whitefield to organize an effective network of religious institutions among his followers to promote and distribute his hymnody. Whitefield was dedicated above all else to his preaching mission. He lacked the institutional genius of John Wesley and had no interest in organizing his own Evangelical Calvinist sectarian movement. Aside from Bethesda, Whitefield's institutional homes at Moorfields, Bath, and the Lock Hospital were built, supported, and governed by his wealthy followers and were not subject to his direct discipline. Whitefield created neither the system of religious societies nor the powerful book trade that secured a huge audience for the hymnody of the Wesleys. The reception of his music therefore depended on its eclectic appropriation by London's Evangelical Calvinist Anglicans and Dissenters and American Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists.

Yet when George Whitefield died at Newburyport, Massachusetts, on September 30, 1770, his music was being sung across the entire Evangelical movement. A dozen of the new and variant tunes from *DMM* had become standards among Wesleyans and Evangelical Calvinists alike. And his *Hymns for Social Worship* had been continuously in print since it was published in 1753. Whitefield could take pride that his ecumenical vision for Evangelicalism had extended into the realm of praise. Immediately after Whitefield's passing, *Hymns for Social Worship* became more popular than ever, appearing in 20 further editions between 1770 and 1794. But its popularity gradually waned in both Britain and America during the early decades of the nineteenth century. With the relentless procession of new editions of Watts's hymns and psalms and new collections of Evangelical Calvinist poetry appearing regularly in both nations, Whitefield's lyrics soon fell prey to the same process of replacement among Reformed denominations that Wesleyans had initiated with Butts's *Harmonia-Sacra* in 1754.

Nonetheless, *DMM*'s tune repertory continued to exert a powerful if masked influence on Evangelical hymnody. Ten of its new and variant tunes were reprinted more than 100 times by 1820. Another five achieved 67 reprintings or more. These numbers represent an impressive achievement for a collection of just 68 tunes. For decades these popular tunes were reprinted once or twice each year in an ever-diversifying range of Evangelical tune books. Few eighteenth-century tune collections could make the same claim. Reprints of these tunes—ALCESTER (87),

AMSTERDAM (150), ARMLY (131), BETHESDA (181), BEXLEY (67), BOSTON (119), EASTER SUNDAY (192), ELENBOROUGH (103), EVENING HYMN (95), HUNTINGTON (113), KINGSBRIDGE (144), MORNING SONG (69), SUTTON (211), VIRGINIA (79), and WESTON FAVELL (236)—diffused through all the branches of Anglo-American Evangelical hymnody over the next two generations. By the time they got there, however, their association with Whitefield, Moorfields, and *DMM* had been virtually obliterated by textual replacement. This was an ironic form of influence at best, but a real and lasting one nonetheless, and one entirely in keeping with Whitefield's legacy as the most protean and least institutionalized force in the formation of Anglo-American Evangelicalism and its sacred song.